4: Allen H-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

again, after the offensive of General Brusilov had broken the Austro-Hungarian Front at several points. Part of Volhynia was cleared of the enemy and the Russians again invaded Galicia, occupying Stanislavov and also Czernowitz and the whole of the Bukovina. The Front was again removed from the region of Kiev.

Under the influence of the Russian victories the Roumanians entered the war, but they proved to be unprepared for serious conflict. A Russian army was sent to check the German invasion in Moldavia, and a new 'Roumanian Front' was created, so that the battle-line now ran from the Baltic to the Black Sea. During the winter of 1916–17 the South-Western Front was stabilized. Headquarters were planning a new offensive in the spring against Lvov and believed in its ultimate success. Peace and quiet reigned in Kiev and in the neighbourhood of the Front. (1)

§2. HRUSHEVSKY AND VINNICHENKO: THE UKRAINIANS AT BREST-LITOVSK

When the news of the February Revolution (February according to the Old Style, March according to the New) in Petrograd reached Kiev neither the authorities nor the populace would at first credit the truth of it. However, it was not long before the events which had taken place in the northern capital were repeated in Kiev and the cities of the Ukraine.

The process of decomposition which was destroying the armies of the North-Western and Western Fronts infected somewhat later the forces on the South-Western and Roumanian Fronts. As for the Ukrainian national movement, no one thought about it during those first days of revolution. With the exception of Finland, where the revolutionary movement was accompanied by a wave of feeling in favour of national independence, in no part of the Russian Empire were nationalist aspirations the motive of the Revolution. The first impulse of the masses, irrespective of their nationality, was to look upon the Revolution as a means of ending the war which had lasted too long. The other motives which soon made themselves apparent were everywhere of a social nature.

The state of mind of the masses found expression in the institution of 'Councils (*Soviety*) of Soldiers', Workmen's and Peasants' Delegates', in the creation of which all the leading socialist groups and parties took a hand. People of all nationalities participated in these Soviets; Georgian politicians, who for a generation had played a leading role in Russian radical movements, made themselves par-

4: Allen H-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

ticularly prominent (Chkheidze, Tsereteli and Chenkeli really dominated the first Petrograd Soviet).

At this early period the great majority of the Ukrainian population were really more indifferent to 'the Ukrainian movement' than they had been before the war. The soldiers in the trenches were only interested in two things: in an immediate return to their homes and in their participation in the land distribution which was to be a feature of the agrarian reforms in the new Russia. If in a comparatively short time 'the Ukrainian movement' became a factor of importance in revolutionary Russia, it was only owing to the exceptional energy and insistence of the small group of men who were leading the Ukrainian nationalists.

Already in March Professor Hrushevsky had made his appearance in Kiev; he was joined by one of the activists of 1905, Vinnichenko, who during that earlier phase had called himself a 'Ukrainian Social Democrat'. The journalist Simon Petlyura, who was destined to become the most picturesque of the Ukrainian leaders, also turned up in Kiev.(2) At the beginning of 1917 Petlyura had found himself in the modest post of accountant in one of the branches of the 'Union of the Towns' which, together with the 'Union of Zemstvos', had been largely concerned with the supply problems of the war. These two Unions became the stronghold of the Ukrainian nationalists; in Kiev alone there were 6000 people employed on the 'Union of Zemstvos' and 2000 on the 'Union of the Towns'. Branches of the two Unions existed in all the towns of the Ukraine and the staffs consisted for the greater part of 'intelligentsia' and 'half-intelligentsia'—just the social strata where, before the war, the Ukrainian nationalists had been gaining recruits.

Without losing any time, Hrushevsky and Vinnichenko gathered round themselves in Kiev an active group who shared their ideas, and they began to organize a 'Ukrainian Conference'. The sponsors of the Conference sent 'invitations' to 'elect delegates' from the nine Governments which they considered as constituting the territory of the Ukraine (three Governments on the right and three on the left bank of the Dniepr and the three Governments of New Russia). The elections were held 'according to the Revolutionary ways': in other words, delegates arrived in Kiev on the authority of some small 'circle' or club or of a 'Ukrainian Revolutionary Committee' which might have consisted of five or six people. There appeared also 'self-appointed delegates'—deserters from the Front and 'new-comers' from Galicia.

No one was particularly astonished at this strange assembly, since 'revolutionary enthusiasm' reigned supreme throughout the whole

6: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1955 RD1 Ukraine RD1

tion of an extensive national community organization by the Ukrainians, he could allow the formation of a self-help and welfare organization.[7]

The Nazi tactic envisaged using Ukrainian national feeling as a counterweight to Polish sentiment to bolster German rule in the Generalgouvernement. After the Poles had been destroyed as a national entity, then the Ukrainians, too, would be absorbed by the Germans or reduced to Helot status. Because the first stage of the process required a lenient attitude toward the Ukrainians, however, it was possible for nationalist groups in the Generalgouvernement to carry on limited but significant activity. Several months before Hitler had made his decision concerning the formation of a Ukrainian welfare body, the Ukrainians of the Generalgouvernement themselves proceeded to create a rudimentary national organization. This step was not prevented because a number of the subordinate officials, particularly Dr. Fritz Arlt, the chief of the nationalities section in the Generalgouvernement, realized the need for securing the friendship of the Ukrainians and endeavored to use their superiors' purely tactical leniency toward this group to grant the Ukrainians a measure of national expression.[8]

The organizational work was begun with the construction of a wide variety of community organizations wherever considerable numbers of Ukrainians were found. For example, a Ukrainian National Council was formed in the San River area, a Ukrainian National Committee in Jaroslaw (Iaroslav), and a Ukrainian Central Committee in Chelm.[9] At first there appeared to be a certain amount of rivalry between these centers, which were evidently improvised by local groups without much consideration of broader political interests.[10] The more far-sighted elements of the Ukrainian group in the Generalgouvernement were anxious, however, to establish as strong a position as possible, and realized

[7] USSR Exhibit 223.

[8] This statement is based on interviews with German officials concerned and with Ukrainians who were the beneficiaries of their temperate policy toward the Ukrainian community. Interviews 8, 11, 36, 46.

[9] *Krakivs'ki Visti*, March 29, 1942, p. 3.

[10] I have no substantial evidence that the incipient conflict in the OUN created any difficulties at this stage of the development of community organization.

[UKRAINIAN CONSTITUTION AS OF NOV 21, 1949]

Art. 121. Elections of deputies to Soviets of Working People's Deputies of the Ukrainian SSR are held by electing districts on the following bases:

in elections to regional Soviets - one deputy for every 15,000 to 30,000 of the population, depending upon its size;

in elections to district and area Soviets - one deputy for every 1,000 of the population; in a district or area whose population does not exceed 25,000, twenty-five deputies are elected, and in a district or area whose population exceeds 60,000, not more than sixty deputies are elected;

in elections to city Soviets or city district Soviets - one deputy for every 350 to 900 of the population, depending upon its size; in a city or city district whose population does not exceed 12,000, thirty-five deputies are elected;

in elections to the Kiev and Kharkov city Soviets - one deputy for every 1,000 of the population;

in elections to village or settlement Soviets - one deputy for every 100 of the population; in a village or settlement whose population does not exceed 1,000, nine deputies are elected, and where the population exceeds 2,500, not more than twenty-five deputies.

The basis of representation for each regional, district, city, village and settlement Soviet of Working People's Deputies is fixed in the "Ordinance Concerning Elections to Regional, District, City, Village and Settlement Soviets of Working People's Deputies of the Ukrainian SSR," within the range of the bases of representation indicated in the present article.

Art. 122. Candidates for elections are nominated according to electoral district.

The right to nominate candidates is secured to public organizations and societies of the working people: Communist Party organizations, trade unions, co-operatives, youth organizations and cultural societies.

Art. 123. It is the duty of every deputy to report to his electors on his work and on the work of the Soviet of Working People's Deputies, and he is liable to be recalled at any time upon decision of the majority of the electors in the manner established by law.

Chapter X. Arms, Flag, Capital

Art. 124. The state arms of the Ukrainian SSR are a sickle and hammer of gold in relief, placed crosswise, handles down against a red background in the rays of the rising sun, and surrounded by ears of wheat, which are placed symmetrically, from bottom to top, forming a circle. Between the tops of the ears of wheat is a red star. At the bottom of the wreath are the words, "Ukrainian SSR" on a red band, and at the bottom of the ears of corn the words, "Workers of all Countries United!" in the Russian language on the right, and in the Ukrainian language on the left.

Art. 125. The state flag of the Ukrainian SSR is of cloth divided into two horizontal bands of color: the upper band, in red, is two-thirds of the width of the flag, and the lower band, in azure, is one-third of the width of the flag. In the upper part of the flag, about one-third of the distance from the staff, are a hammer and sickle of gold and above them a five-pointed star with a gold border.

The relation of width to length of the flag is 1:2.

Art. 126. The Capital of the Ukrainian SSR is the City of Kiev.

Chapter XI. Procedure for Amending the Constitution

Art. 127. The Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR may be amended only by decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR adopted by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the votes of the Supreme Soviet.